

T H R E E
E S S A Y S,

I. The Council of *Nice* vindicated from the
Athanasian Heresy.

II. A Collection of Ancient Monuments
relating to the Trinity and Incarnation,
and to the History of the Fourth Century
of the Church.

III. The Liturgy of the Church of *England*
reduc'd nearer to the Primitive Standard.

All humbly offer'd to Publick Consideration.

By *William Whiston*, M. A.

L O N D O N:

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T H E

Council of N I C E

Vindicated from the

ATHANASIAN

HERESY.

IN order to discover the real Doctrines of the *Council of Nice*, concerning the Trinity and Incarnation, as they stood originally, before the Improvements which came afterwards; and to shew that they in general do by no means agree with the *Athanasian Scheme*, I lay down the following Observations or Rules, for the more impartial judging about that Matter:

I. That by the *Athanasian Doctrines*, I mean only those novel Doctrines and Language which *Athanasius* and his Followers introduc'd and maintain'd after the Council of *Nice*, in the latter half of the fourth Century; but this, as they were a long time afterward improv'd and explain'd in the *Athanasian Creed*.

(2.) That by the *Christian Doctrines*, different from the *Athanasian*, I mean such as are contain'd in those noble Remains of old Christianity, the *Eusebian Creeds* preserv'd by *Athanasius*; or, which is almost the same thing, those I have given an Account of in my fourth Volume of *Primitive Christianity Reviv'd*; which, I think, are own'd to have

have been the real Doctrines of the *Eusebians*, or those that were unjustly called *Arians* in the fourth Century.

(3.) That by the *Arian* Doctrines I mean only those novel Doctrines and Language which *Arius* himself, and his peculiar Followers, introduc'd; and which indeed were disapprov'd of both by the *Eusebians* and *Athanasians*.

(4.) That therefore I shall call the peculiar Doctrines of *Athanasius* and his Followers, as above stated, the *Athanasian* Doctrines; the peculiar Doctrines and Language of *Arius* and his Followers, the *Arian* Doctrines, and the other true Doctrines the Christian or *Eusebian* Doctrines; and in an agreeable Sense shall I call the Patrons of the first, *Athanasians*; of the second, *Arians*; and of the third, *Christians*; or, in the then current Language, *Eusebians*. Not that I in the least approve of any Names of particular Sects, or of all the Conduct of *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, from whom that last Appellation was deriv'd; but because that most uncorrupt Body of the Christian Church which I so much approve of, had this Name originally bestow'd upon them; and because 'tis a Name much more proper for them than that of *Arian*; which they by no means either desir'd or deserv'd; but which was only made use of by their Enemies as a Name of Scandal and Reproach for them.

(5.) That in judging of the genuine Doctrines of the Council of *Nice*, and of the Christian Church at that time, I shall mainly confine my self to the authentick Acts of the Council it self, and to the Days of *Constantine* and *Eusebius*, that is for about 12 or 15 Years before, and as many after that Council. These being, for certain, the most unexceptionable Witnesses in this Case. Only we must note, that the other Councils held within that interval are of peculiar Authority here; not only because of their publick Nature; but also because not a few of their Bishops must have been also Bishops at the Council of *Nice*; and all either direct Members of that Council, or truly Contemporary with those that were so.

(6.) That in alledging Testimonies beyond that interval, we are more to depend on such as were *before*, than on such as were *after* that Council; because the Members of it might see and follow the foregoing; but could not see or follow the succeeding Writers.

(7.) That the chief regard is to be had all along to the publick Creeds of each Party, and their Accounts of Christian Faith, as separate from the Notions of particular Men, and from the Philosophical Opinions then current; that so we may distinguish the Doctrine of Christ, attested to as believ'd ever since the Days of the Apostles; from the Philosophy of some Christians, which arose in later Ages of the Church.

The Reader is to note here by the way, that almost all the particular ancient Records here referr'd to are produc'd at large, either in my former *fourth Volume*, or in the following *Collection of ancient Monuments*; and that *Eusebius's* own original Letter from the Council of *Nice* preserv'd,

preserv'd both in *Athanasius*, *Socrates* and *Theodoret*, and inserted in the following Collection, is much the most full and authentick Account now extant of the Debates in that Council; and that in the Treatises of *Athanasius*, and Letters of *Alexander* a little before that Council, are of peculiar Authority here also, on account of their Authors, which must be unexceptionable to the very *Athanasians* themselves.

Primitive Faith, Article I.

There is but One, Supreme, Living, Eternal, Infinite, Omniscient, Omnipotent and Invisible God; the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Origin of all Beings, and the Creator of all Creatures.

Athanasian Doctrine.

The is One God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity. The Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God; and yet they are not three Gods, but one God.

The Doctrine of the Council of *Nice*, and of all the Councils before, and in this interval, and of the whole Catholick Church from the Days of Christ, is in this grand Point plainly and evidently on the Side of the *Eusebians*: as all their numerous Creeds, and Accounts of the Faith, and among them the *Nicene* Creed it self, do expressly bear witness; and as *Athanasius's* own Writings before the Council of *Nice* do assure us. So that 'tis needless to quote any particular Testimonies in so clear a Case.

Primitive Faith, Article II.

God the Father, and he alone is to be primarily Worship'd and Ador'd; or in the most proper Sence, and in the highest Manner: He only being the Object of the supreme Degree of such Divine Worship and Adoration, through Jesus Christ.

Athanasian

Athanasian Doctrine.

The Glory equal. So that in all Things as is aforesaid, the Unity in Trinity, and the Trinity in Unity is to be Worship'd.

The *Eusebian* Doctrine in this Matter is no other than a plain and evident Consequence of the former Article; for if there be but One Supreme God, and he is alone the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, 'tis clear that the Worship peculiar to him must answer to that Supremacy, or supreme Divinity of the Father also. Accordingly there is not the least Sign that the Council of *Nice*, or any of its Members then acted upon any other Principle, or paid their supreme Worship and Adoration to any other than God the Father; whom they ever own'd as the One and Only Supreme God of the Universe. So that till there appear some shadow of a Proof before or within this interval, that the Son and Spirit were worshipped by the Church, with *equal Adoration, and equal Glory*; which I think 'tis impossible to find: The contrary *Athanasian* Doctrine and Worship of late established must be own'd, as well as the former, to be no ways justifiable by the Council of *Nice*.

Primitive Faith, Article III.

Jesus Christ is in a peculiar Sence the Son, the only, the only begotten, and the most beloved Son of God, i. e. a Divine Person, in an extraordinary and singular Manner deriv'd from, and peculiarly near and dear to the Supreme God the Father.

Athanasian Doctrine.

Nor dividing the Substance.

God of the Substance of the Father.

Both the *Eusebians* and *Athanasians* agreed in the Christian Article before us in every thing, so far as the Article it self goes. Only the *Eusebians* were always unwilling to meddle with the words *Essence* and *Substance*, as to the Supreme God; and rather chose to say, what all then agreed in, that the Son was derived, not necessarily

rily but voluntarily from the Father ; and that he, and he alone was derived from him immediately, without the interposition of any other Being ; and avoided those uncertain metaphysical Speculations about *Essence* and *Substance*, which all Sides allow'd to be utterly Unscriptural. The Council of *Nice* indeed did here venture to say, that the Son was deriv'd from the *Essence*, or *Substance* of God, in their Creed ; but this was done, not in order to establish a strict philosophick Notion, but in opposition to *Arius* and his Followers, who said he was created or made, as the subordinate Creatures were, out of *Nothing* : In Contradiction whereto the Council ventur'd to oppose one Unscriptural Notion and Expression to another ; and said he was deriv'd from God, and that not out of *Nothing*, but in some higher Manner ; which knowing not how to express otherwise, they said was out of God, or out of the *Substance* of God. Now that the manner of the Son's derivation was some way different from, and exalted above that of the derivation of all other Beings, was agreed on both Sides ; and the *Arian* Rashness, which denied this, and said he was made out of *Nothing*, was on both Sides condemn'd ; but the *Eusebians* alone preserv'd themselves undefiled, and their Faith unpolluted with any uncertain, unscriptural and metaphysical Notions ; tho' they did not properly deny the possibility of the same ; as not pretending to enter into such Depths of the Divine Power, by determining how, or after what Manner the Son of God was deriv'd from the Father ; but owning his *Generation* to be really unsearchable by Mankind : 'Tis evident therefore that the *Eusebians* and their Councils acted much more prudently and Christianly than the *Nicene* Council, and avoided at once the rash and novel Expressions, both of the *Arians* and *Athanasians* ; tho' at the same time it be evident, by what passed in that Council, that all which was aimed at by this Clause of their Creed, was far from that strict Sense of *Co-essentiality* or *Consubstantiality*, which the *Athanasians* afterwards affix'd to it. All that the Council ventur'd to condemn of this Nature in their Anathema's was, the asserting that our Saviour was deriv'd from some *Essence* or *Substance* different from the *Fathers* ; or that his Origin was out of *Nothing*, as that of the subordinate Creatures was allow'd to be. Which Assertions being never made by the *Eusebians*, the Council of *Nice* does by no means affect them by those its Anathemas. Nor do I perceive the *Athanasian* part of the Church engag'd to support this Language on any Considerations so much as out of opposition to the gross *Arians*, and to preserve the Honour of the Council of *Nice*, which they look'd on as the main Bulwark against that Heresy : While one may easily perceive that the wisest and best Men of both Sides were not insensible of what the great *Eusebius* excellently observ'd in his Epistle, that it has been from unscriptural Expressions that almost all the Confusions and Disorders of the Churches have arisen. Which kind of Expressions therefore ought never to be impos'd by any who prefer their old Christianity,

and

and the Peace and Edification of Christian People before the Honour of any Council, Party or Faction whatsoever.

Primitive Faith, Article IV.

Jesus Christ is truly God and Lord: He is really, by the Appointment of the Father, our God, and our Lord, our King, and our Judge.

Athanasian Doctrine.

The Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost is all one.——Equal to the Father as touching his Godhead.

This Christian Article is agreed to by all the three Parties, *Eusebians, Athanasians and Arians*; as also that he is a God *by Nature*, and was such before his Incarnation, nay before the Creation of the World; and not only *by Office*, or Appointment afterwards; as the old *Ebionites* and the modern *Socinians* have been forc'd to affirm. Only it must be observed here, that the *Athanasians*, long since the Council of *Nice*, have pretended that this Title *God* is used of him in the very same Sence that it is used of the Father; and that their Divinity is *equal*, or *the same*, but that this is without all Authority in this interval before us, and indeed in strict Speech in all other Christian Antiquity: It being evident, that by *God the Word*, the *Only-begotten God*, the *begotten God*, the *made God*, and the *second God*; which are the almost only Epithets added by the Ancients, and that by way of distinction also, when they speak of the Son; they did not at all mean any *equality* as to the Divinity, with the *Supreme God*, the *Eternal God*, the *Immortal God*, the *Omnipotent God*, the *Invisible God*, the *Great God*, the *God of the Universe*, the *Primary God*, the *One God*, the *Only God*, the *True God*, the *Highest*, and the *God of Christ himself*; which are the usual Epithets of God the Father; and that they called our Saviour *God*, or a *God*, by way of Distinction and Superiority only, as to the lower Creatures, and in opposition to that *Ebionite* or *Socinian* Notion, that he was but a *meer Man*, as is very evident in Antiquity. And what is here not a little remarkable is this, that the modern *Athanasian* reasoning is grounded rather upon the change of Language, than upon any original Authority: For while in the Days of Christ and his Apostles the Word *God* was used of Beings vastly differently, I mean both of the supreme and subordinate Heathen Deities; and so it was then easily

easily apply'd to the supreme and subordinate Persons of the Father and the Son; the *Athanasians* have long us'd that Word in only the highest Sense, and have thereupon very weakly suppos'd, that it must originally, when apply'd to the Son, have been taken in that highest Sense also, without any sufficient Authority for so doing; nay, contrary to the plainest evidence in all the primitive Records of our Religion. Nor are there any Footsteps of this *equal Divinity* in the Records belonging to the Council of *Nice*, or in the interval before us, no not among the *Athanasians* themselves. This being indeed no other than a most injudicious Inference of the latter Writers, when they improv'd the *Athanasian Doctrine* afterwards. Nay when the Council of *Nice* it self first ventur'd to call our Saviour *very God of very God*, yet did they own at the same time that God the Father was still the *One Almighty God of the Universe*, in Agreement with all Antiquity. So that the present *Athanasian Doctrine* must be rejected not only by the Scriptures, and all other Christian Antiquity, but by the Sentiments of the Council of *Nice* it self also.

Primitive Faith, Article V.

Jesus Christ is the Holy One of God; a Being or Person of super-eminent and divine Perfections, Knowledge, Power and Authority; and so far superior to all subordinate Creatures, i. e. to all the Thrones, Dominions, Principalities, Powers, Cherubim, Seraphim, Archangels, Angels and Men, which are made subject unto him.

Athanasian Doctrine.

Such as the Father is, such is the Son, and such is the Holy Ghost.—The Father is Almighty, the Son Almighty, and the Holy Ghost Almighty.

As to this Proposition or Article of the Christian Faith, it is own'd by all the three Parties, the *Eusebians*, *Athanasians* and *Arians*. Only the *Athanasians*, some time after the Council of *Nice*, ventur'd to say that these and all the other divine Perfections of the Son were *absolutely infinite*, or *equal* to the same Perfections in the Father; contrary to our Saviour's own express Words, that none was

supremely and absolutely * *Good but One, that is God*; † that his Father was greater than he; ‡ and that he did not, before his Death, know the Day and hour of the future Judgment, but that his Father only knew it; and contrary to all the Interpretations of those Texts by the ancient Christians, till many Years after the Council of Nice: All which, as far as I could ever observe, own'd these Passages to be true of his divine Nature, without any recourse to that late *Athanasian* evasion. as if these and the like Things belonged only to his Manhood, or rational Soul; which has been so long made use of to get clear of such evident Testimonies. I call this a later *Athanasian* evasion, only, because it never appear'd till the latter Days of *Athanasius*, as we shall see presently. So that we have great Reason to complain under this Article, that the *Athanasians* evidently contradict not only the sacred Scriptures, and all earlier Antiquity, but the Sentiments of the Council of Nice also.

Primitive Faith, Article VI.

Jesus Christ is the αὐτὸς Θεὸς γεννημένος, the first begotten of all Creatures, the beginning of the Creation, of God, i. e. a Divine Being or Person created or begotten by the Father before all Ages, or before all subordinate Creatures, visible and invisible.

Athanasian Doctrine.

The Majesty Co-eternal:---The Son Uncreate:---The Son Eternal:---The Son is neither Made, nor Created, but Begotten:---The whole three Persons are Co-eternal together.

In this Article the *Athanasians* seem to me to have greatly mistaken the ancient Faith, and the Meaning of the Council of Nice. The Words of the Council are but these, *Begotten not made.*---For such as say there was a Duration when the Son was not; and that he was not before he was begotten; and that he was made out of Nothing;---Those the Catholick and Apostolick Church does

* Matt. XIX. 16, 17. † Job. XIV. 28. ‡ Matt. XXIV. 36. Mar. XIII. 32.

Anathematize. Now these Words, taken as explain'd by the Emperor *Constantine* himself at that Council, in *Eusebius's* Letter; by all the other Creeds and Passages at or near the time of that Council; and by the Philosophy that was then current, imply thus much; that tho' they had no traditionary Doctrine of any Being properly *Co-eternal* with the Father, yet had they no traditionary Doctrine neither that said that Christ was *made out of Nothing*, or had no sort of Existence at all before he was begotten. That they also did own that Christ was still said to be *ever* with his Father, even in the very beginning of Time, and of the Ages; nay, *before* all Time and all Ages; that therefore they owned nothing of Time or of Ages, capable of being determin'd and measur'd, but what was *later* than he; and that nothing but the Father was *before* him, or earlier than he; and that he might be *virtually* or *potentially* in or *with* his Father, as his internal Word or Wisdom, before he was actually begotten, or became a distinct active Being or Person; and so it was not safe to say absolutely that he once had no Existence or Being at all. Now that this Doctrine, or Philosophy rather, did not imply what the later *Athanasians* have drawn from it, and determin'd about it, as if the Son were really Uncreated, or a distinct Person or Being, properly *Co-eternal* with the Father, and this by a true *eternal Generation*, I prove by the Arguments following; (1.) None of the Writers of this or former Ages ever pretend to have heard of such an Article of Christian Faith, either as contain'd in Scripture, or deliver'd down to them by Tradition, that there was any Being but the supreme God properly *Eternal*; which Scripture or Tradition yet must have been necessary to the Establishment of so very strange and very important a Doctrine as this, of more than one *eternal Being*. (2.) All the ancient Creeds and Writings, even of the Council of *Nice*, as well as before and after, agree, on the contrary, that our Saviour was a *deriv'd* or *begotten Being*; which in the obvious and natural Sence is directly contrary to this proper eternity. (3.) They do all equally agree that he was not derived from the Father by necessity of Nature, but begotten by *his Will, his Power, and his Goodness*, which is still more directly opposite to this proper eternity. (4.) They do almost all agree that our Saviour was *Created*, as well as *Begotten* by the Father; and that therefore he may be styl'd a *Creature*, or a *Being Made*, as well as *Begotten* by him; which Words are still more express against this proper eternity. 'Tis true, in the *Athanasian* Copy of the Anathema's of the Council of *Nice* we are told that this Council condemn'd those that said Christ was *Created*: But since the insertion of that Clause has been fully demonstrated to be no better than a * *Forgery of Athanasius*, and it is evident this Council never did condemn that Expression, the for-

* See Athanasius convicted of Forgery, inserted hereafter.

mer reasoning holds good against any such proper eternity. (5.) The Council of Nice is it self express and clear against this proper eternity, by owning that any Existence of this Nature must have been *before Christ's Generation*, and by condemning the *Arians* for denying it; while both Sides appear to have agreed that his Generation was not strictly *from all eternity*; or, which is all one, that he was not properly a Being or Person *Co-eternal* with the Father. (6.) It also appears by the Accounts of *Eusebius's* Letter that all the Debates upon this Head therein suppos'd that the Son was not actually *Co eternal* with the Father; and that the difficulty was thereupon to find any Sense in which he might be said to exist *before his actual Generation or Creation* only. (7.) * *Arius's* own private Letter to *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, still preserv'd, assures us that all the Eastern Bishops but three, whom he styles *uncatechiz'd Hereticks*, own'd the Father's Existence *prior* to that of the Son, and this just before the Council of *Nice*; of which Eastern Bishops that Council must have in great part consisted afterward. (8.) The Presbyters and Deacons of *Alexandria*, in their famous Letter to *Alexander* their Bishop, to that very *Alexander* who condemn'd *Arius*, and was a principal Bishop of the Council of *Nice* soon afterward, do expressly attest, not only that the Christian Doctrine did not admit of the Son's *Co-eternity* with God, but that the Father was *before* the Son, according to this † *Alexander's* own Doctrine, which they had themselves learned from him in the course of his publick preaching among them. (9.) The asserting our Saviour to be strictly *eternal* as well as *unbegotten*, ‡ was a known part of the infamous Heresy of *Marcellus*, own'd for such in this very Age; and so that can by no means claim to have been the Doctrine of the Church so early. (10.) That *eternal Generation* of our Saviour which is absolutely necessary to the Hypothesis of his proper *Co-eternity*, is undoubtedly overthrown by the express Doctrine of this Council; which ever supposes that *Generation* to be a little before the Creation of the World, and not sooner; as the very Words of their Creed and Anathema's directly imply. (11.) That Language of the Ancients that the Word was *ever* with God, and Co existed *always* with him, did not originally imply more than that he was so as early as, or before Time it self, or the Creation of the World, which no way inferrs the eternity. This appears by other Passages of those that say so; especially by their owning that the Father was *before* him however, tho' nothing else was so; || which is intirely contrary to this absolute eternity. So that upon the whole, we have great reason to conclude, that the later *Athanasian* Notions of *eternal Generation* and proper *Co-eternity* of the Son, are not only not supported,

* See my fourth Vol. Art. VI. p. 156. † Vol. IV. Art. VIII. p. 197.
 ‡ See my first Vol. p. 91. || See my fourth Vol. Art. VI. and Observations on Dr. Clark, p. 10, &c.

but utterly destroy'd by the Determinations of the Council of Nice. For it is here to be farther noted, that tho' this Council ventur'd to say, that our Saviour was *Begotten*, but *not Made*; it did not thereby at all intend to establish his real eternity; for we know from *Eusebius's* Letter, and from the occasion of those Words, that they were only inserted to distinguish the origin of Christ from that of those Creatures that were deriv'd from *Nothing*, and which were all *made* by him, under the Father, as *St. John* assures us; * *All Things were made by him; and without him was not any Thing made.* And it must be confess'd that this Council best approv'd of those Terms which did the most certainly distinguish the origin of the Son from the origin of the inferior Creatures: whence it was plain that they best liked the words *Begat*, *Begotten* and *Generation*, as least liable to abuse; and were more suspicious of the words *Create*, *Created* and *Creature*; but did most of all disapprove of the word *Made*, this last seeming the most directly capable of that Heretical or *Arian* Interpretation, *Made out of Nothing*, as were the other Creatures, which they abhorr'd and condemn'd, tho' without the belief of the Co-eternity. However, it must, after all, be confess'd, that if not the Scripture it self, yet at † least some of the most primitive Writers had originally used even the very word *Made*, in the present Case, without Imputation.

N. B. The *Eusebians* and *Eunomians*, if not the more cautious *Arians* themselves also, did express all so as might have satisfied the Church, and ought to have prevented any rash and unwarrantable insertion and use of a disputed Clause in a Creed: I mean when they said, *Christ was indeed a Creature, but not as one of the other Creatures: He was a Being Made, but not as one of the other Beings that were Made.* Which Language seems to me very exact, and very Christian, and the Notions so well grounded, that almost all the tolerable Reasonings of *Athanasius* himself against the *Arians* prove no more; and so are of no validity against either the *Eusebians* or *Eunomians* who maintain'd them.

Christian Faith, Article VII.

God the Father by his Word, by his Son, or by Jesus Christ, as his Minister, or active Instrument, at first created, made, order'd or dispos'd, and still governs all the subordinate Creatures, visible and invisible.

* John 1. 3. † See *Observat. on Dr. Clark*, p. 10, &c.

This is for the main universally agreed by all, *Eusebians*, *Athanasians* and *Arians*; so there can be little Dispute upon this Head: Only it may be noted, that the *Athanasians* knew not how to bear it that Christ should be called an *Instrument*; or that a *created Being* should it self be suppos'd able to *Create*; otherwise they all own'd that the Father made all Things by him; as the very *Nicene*, and other * *Ancient Creeds* do unanimously agree; while at the same time they did all likewise own, that the Father was the sole original Creator of all: And that from him, as from the first Cause, was the whole Universe deriv'd. But waving any Dispute about the word *Instrument*, as not worth insisting on, where the thing is agreed; and waving the Dispute whether our Saviour was himself *created*, as already mention'd here, and fully determin'd † elsewhere; I think it may be allow'd that none of the subordinate Beings can *Create*, because they were only made under the Father by the Son, and because God neither gave them any such Power at their own Creation, nor intrusted any such Power with them since. But then that the only begotten Son of God, begotten by himself alone, could not have that Power either given him at his own Creation, or intrusted with him afterwards, 'tis highly presumptuous to assert; since neither the Nature of Creation it self, nor the Manner of the Exercise of the Father's Power by the Son therein, are discover'd to us, or discoverable by us; while yet the possibility of such a derivative Creation cannot be disputed, unless we take away the Power of Creation from the Father also; it being certain, that all the Power of the Son, by which he made and governs the World, under the Father, is at the last no other than the Power of the Father himself, communicated to him, and exercis'd by him; tho' the *modus* of such Communication and Exercise does no way at present come within our Comprehension.

Christian Faith, Article VIII.

Jesus Christ the Word, and Son of God, is a divine Being or Person far Inferior to his Father, in Nature, Attributes and Perfections.

Athanasian Doctrine.

Nor dividing the Substance:—The Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost is all

* See the Collection of the ancient Creeds at the end of my fourth Volume. † Observations on Dr. Clark, p. 10, &c.

one: — In this Trinity none is greater or less than another: — The whole three Persons are Co-equal: — God of the Substance of the Father.

This Doctrine has been before treated of under the fifth Article, as to the inferiority of the divine Attributes and Perfections ascribed to our Saviour; all that remains then to be discoursed of here is that *inferiority of Christ's Nature*; which 'tis supposed the Council of Nice did directly contradict, when they asserted that our Saviour was *Co-essential* or *Consubstantial*; of the very same *Essence* or *Substance* with the Father. Now under this Head I make the following Observations: (1.) That as I have observ'd under this Article in my fourth Volume, By *Nature* I only mean in general the Foundation of the Properties, whatever it be: Just as we commonly own the *Nature* of an Angel to be superior to that of a Man; and the *Nature* of a Man superiour to that of a Brute; without pretending to know the absolute *Essence* or *Substance* of any of them; but on account of their superior Attributes, Powers and Perfections only. (2.) That by the *sameness* of the *Essence* or *Substance* of the Son, when compar'd with the *Essence* or *Substance* of the Father, the Council certainly did not mean a *numerical* identity or sameness, as if the *Substance* of the Son and of the Father were the very same individual *Essence* or *Substance*, as the later *Athanasians* have commonly mistaken it; since the word *ὁμοούσιον*, *Consubstantial*, cannot so signify; nor is there any original Evidence for such an Acceptation in those Days, nor indeed for a considerable time afterward. (3.) That the Council did not mean a strict *specific* sameness, or intire likeness of the *Essence* or *Substance* of the Son to that of the Father; as the Soul of one Man is of the same sort, or exactly like the Soul of another; or as one piece of Box is of the same or like *Essence* or *Substance* with that whole Box-tree out of which it was cut. Such gross and corporeal Notions *Eusebius* in his Letter assures us were expressly rejected by the Council, when they were proposed; and so they ought not to be imputed to it. (4.) That the sense of the Council in using this ambiguous Word was not distinct and determinate; but they seem to have meant thus much and no more, that he who was not *made out of Nothing*, as were the ordinary Creatures, but was some way deriv'd from God himself, from the *Essence* or *Substance* of the Father, might better be said to be of the *same*, or of a *like Essence* or *Substance* with him, than of the *same* or of a *like Essence* or *Substance* with those Creatures. This seems to me very nearly the Conception they had of this Matter: which tho' it imply, as before, the venturing upon an unscriptural Notion, and an unscriptural Word, as did those *Arians* they condemn'd for it; yet does it by no means justify the *Athanasian* Doctrine, which was afterward raised therefrom, as to either the strict *numerical sameness* or strict *specific sameness* of *Substance* in the

Son

Son with the Father ; of which the latter Ages have been so full. (5.) That still the Approbation and Use of the word *Consubstantial* was not then always insisted on, by even * *Athanasius* himself ; but it was owned sufficient if Men would condemn that gross *Arianism* against which the word was directly and properly level'd : So that the *Eusebians*, who ever disapproved of that *Arianism*, and sometimes expressly condemned it, as all their Creeds and History fully demonstrate ; ought not to have been condemned or censured by the *Athanasians* on that Account ; especially when that Word seems rather to have been made use of as a † *Shibboleth* of a Party, than as an authentick Exposition of a Doctrine of Christianity. Note, (6.) That the Council of *Nice*, and even the *Athanasians* never pretended that this Doctrine, or this Language was derived down to them from Christ or his Apostles, as a part of the Christian Faith ; but only alledg'd, that several Fathers, elder than themselves, had made use of the Word ; tho' even this, so far as appears, or the *Athanasians* inform us, ‡ not till about the middle of the third Century of the Church. Note, (7.) that the same *Athanasians* ever owned that when the *Consubstantiality* was first proposed to the Church in the third Century, it was directly and expressly rejected, even at the famous || Council of *Antioch* ; and that it was therein expressly declared, *That Christ was not Consubstantial to the Father* : So that every Body that professes that the Son is *Consubstantial* to the Father, runs a greater hazzard of Heresy by opposing the ancienter Council of *Antioch*, than he does by rejecting it, with regard to this later Council of *Nice*. Nay, (8.) Since the use of this Word was so immediately, so highly disapproved by, and offensive to the Body of Christian People, especially in the Eastern and most uncorrupt parts of the Church, that all the following Councils in this interval did there omit or reject it, as particularly did the two other more numerous Councils of *Jerusalem* and *Ariminum* ; 'Tis plain that the use of it is now utterly unjustifiable, and that it ought immediately to be laid aside by all Christians. But then I observe, (9.) That as to the Nature of our Saviour, as understood in this Article, and taken in a plain Sense, without meddling with his *Essence* or *Substance*, there is no certain Evidence that the Council of *Nice* own'd it to be *equal* to that of the Father, but the contrary : for as their very Creed fully and plainly confesses the super eminence of the Father, and the Son's real derivation from him ; and as *Athanasius* before the Council of *Nice* owned the Father to be † *beyond every begotten Nature, and* * *all begotten or made Substance, nay quite beyond all Substance whatsoever* ; so does *Alexander* himself, expressly † 'reckon those among the unskilful

* De Synod. §. 41. p. 755, 756. † See my fourth Vol. Art. VIII. p. 192. ‡ See my fourth Vol. Art. VIII p. 188, &c. || See Collection of Monuments, infra. † Contr. Gent. § 40. * De Incarn. §. 2. and §. 40. † See my fourth Vol. Art. VIII p. 194.

who do not own a mighty distance between the unbegotten Father; and those Creatures which were made out of Nothing; and directly affirms, that the Son was a middle Nature between them. This Philosophy of his, which is the very same with that of Eunomius afterwards, seems to me to be the very Truth in this Case; and to have been most probably the Opinion of the Church at the time of the Council of Nice also. So that upon the whole I must own, that I think the modern Athanasians are not here supported by the ancient Councils, no not by that of Nice; but have impos'd on themselves and on the World in this Point also.

Primitive Faith, Article IX.

Accordingly Jesus Christ, the Word and Son of God was very frequently sent by the Supreme God, the Father, in the ancient Ages; and again more apparently at his Incarnation; as his Servant, his Vicegerent, and Minister into the World:

X. He was also ever intirely subordinate and obedient to his Father, and ministred to his good Pleasure in all Things.

XI. He also did frequently Pray to, and Praise, and Trust in the Supreme God, as his Lord, his God, and Father; and still intercedes to him in Heaven for his Church and People here on Earth.

XII. He also own'd that all his Knowledge, Power, Authority, Revelations, Doctrine, and Miracles were deriv'd from, and given him by the Father; and still did all so as might ultimately tend to the Glory of his Father.

XIII. Jesus Christ, the Word, and Son of God, did, in his Divine Nature, in the most ancient Times properly descend from Heaven, and appear at several Times, and in several Places to the Patriarchs; personating the Supreme God; or acting wholly in his Name; and as his Deputy and Vicegerent in the World.

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XIV:

XIV. *Jesus Christ, the Word, and Son of God, descended properly again from Heaven in his Divine Nature, and became Man ; being by the Power of the Holy Ghost conceived in and born of the Blessed Virgin Mary ; and increasing afterward in Wisdom and Stature like other Men.*

These six Articles were intirely agreed to by all, *Eusebians, Athanasians* and *Arians* ; only that *Subordination* of the Son to the Father, with its Consequences ; which all the Ancients, till after the Council of *Nice*, ascribed unanimously to his divine Nature, or inhabiting Word, began in some Years time to be imputed to a human, rational Soul, which was then supposed a part of him ; and which the later *Athanasians* have so constantly insisted on since ; tho' without any sufficient Authority for so doing : as will appear in the following Lemma, and the succeeding Proposition.

L E M M A.

The ancient Division of a Man in the first and second Centuries of Christianity, was into three Parts ; the Spirit, or Rational and Divine Part ; the Soul, or Sensitive part ; and the Body, or Fleshly part ; the πνεῦμα, or vīs, the ψυχὴ, and the σῶμα, or σὰρξ ; though the ancient Authors do frequently include all the Parts under that general Division into Soul and Body also.

*Note, That this Notion seems to have passed through the third and beginning of the fourth Centuries, just as it came from the two foregoing : And no wonder, since it stood upon such certain and sacred original Authority, as I have shew'd in my fourth Volume under this Head. Only there was no Occasion given at the Council of *Nice* for the particular Declaration of their Opinions therein. I shall therefore pass on to the succeeding Proposition, where alone we are concern'd with this Notion in the present Controversie.*

Primitive

Primitive Faith, Article XV.

Jesus Christ, the Word and Son of God, i. e. his Divine Nature assum'd a Human Body, or Humane Flesh, with its Properties and Passions; or, in the ancient Style, a σῶμα or σὰρξ, with its ψυχή, and so became a Divine Soul in a Humane Body; a God Incarnate; or, in Scripture Language, the Word made Flesh, and dwelling among Mankind.

Athanasian Doctrine.

Perfect God, and Perfect Man; of a reasonable Soul, and humane Flesh subsisting. Equal to the Father as touching his Godhead; inferior to Father as touching his Manhood.——As the reasonable Soul and Flesh is one Man, so God and Man is one Christ.

That the Christian Doctrine first set down was the general belief of the Church at the Council of Nice; and that the Hypothesis of a humane, rational Soul, besides the Λόγος, in his Composition, as assum'd at the Incarnation, was introduc'd afterward, we have great Reason to conclude. All the Discourses and Language about our Saviour at that time; all the Phrases of the Nicene and other Creeds; all the occasional Passages then occurring; in particular this Councils Condemnation of the Arians, for affirming, that our Saviour was not absolutely immutable or impeccable in his Nature; which in Case of the Supposition of a humane Soul they could not have universally condemned; do at first sight suppose this Doctrine. The Arians and Eusebians agreed to it; and their Adversaries for some time made no Opposition: Nay, long afterward, that part of the Athanasians which followed the most learned Man of that Age, Apollinarius, adher'd stedfastly to it; even when the necessity of Athanasius's own Scheme and Reasonings, had forc'd him to desert it, and to introduce a rational Soul, in order to solve such Objections and Difficulties as could not be clear'd without it. But what puts this Matter almost past doubt, is this; that the two most famous Men

in the Church, **Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*, and *Athanasius* himself, the former after, and the latter before the Council of *Nice*, do both agree in their intire Reasonings about the Incarnation, and do both appear never then to have so much as heard of this Notion among Christians. For the truth of which I appeal to their own Writings still extant; and particularly to that large and noble Treatise of *Athanasius* concerning the Incarnation of the Word, which is in the following Collection; the Reasoning of which Treatise most certainly concludes that *Athanasius* thought that the humane Soul in our Saviour, if he had the least Notion of such a Thing, was intirely inactive and quiescent, or swallowed up in the Word, as *Origin* of old seems to have thought; but most probably does rather imply, that he never had once heard of any such Notion of a humane Soul in our Saviour at all. So that I may here most justly condemn the modern *Athanasians* under this Article, by the Authority of the *Nicene* Council; and of all the other Councils of the Church for several Years afterward; nay, by the original Authority of their great Leader *Athanasius* himself.

Primitive Faith, Article XVI.

Jesus Christ, the Word and Son of God, when he was incarnate, was liable to Temptations in his Divine Nature, and therein suffered for us; as the rational Soul is tempted, and suffers in other Men, by its partaking of the Temptations and Sufferings of the Body.

Note, The opposite *Athanasian* Doctrine is not expressly in their Creed.

This Article is a natural and necessary Consequence of that foregoing; it directly results from it, and must have been owned by all that owned the other. Accordingly we find that the *Nicene* and all the other ancient Creeds, ascribe the Sufferings to the very same Being or Person, who was the *only begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all Worlds, God of God, &c.* without the least Sign of their belonging to any humane or rational Soul in him. Nor do the distinct Accounts of *Eusebius* and *Athanasius* himself imply any more than that this Divine Word, which assisted the Body in

* See my fourth Vol. Art. XVI. p. 318, &c.

* its Sufferings, was not properly hurt, or did not receive any real Detriment by them, on Account of the Divinity and Spirituality of his Nature; as must certainly be the Case here. So that the modern Athanasians have in this Matter also quite alter'd the Christian Doctrines of the Incarnation and Sufferings of our blessed Saviour; and instead of adoring that wonderful Condescension, and amazing Love, which the Son of God himself shewed in taking a frail mortal Body, and therein Suffering in our stead, have only invented some ill-grounded scholastick Notions about an *Hypostatical Union of Natures*, and *Communication of Properties*, without all foundation in true Antiquity, or even in the Council of Nice it self.

Primitive Faith, Articles XVII. XVIII.

XVII. *Jesus Christ, the Word, and Son of God, will, at the Consummation of all Things, resign up that Kingdom which the Supreme God instated him in after his Resurrection into his Father's Hands; and will from thenceforward, with all other dependent Beings, be intirely subject to his Father for ever.*

XVIII. *The Super-eminent and Divine Honour and Worship due to the Son of God, is to be paid, not only by obeying him, as our Lord; by baptizing into his Name; by wishing Grace and Peace from him; and by Doxologies; but by proper Adoration; by direct and distinct Invocation and Thanksgiving to him also.*

These Articles are in the main agreed upon by the *Eusebians, Arians* and *Athanasians*; tho' the last of them were in a little time so very sensible of the strength of the XVIIth Article against them, that by Degrees they came to suppose that the *Resignation* of the Kingdom, and *Subjection* there noted, did not belong to Christ's Divine Nature, but to his humane Soul; and that by the God † who was afterward to be all in

* See my fourth Vol. Art. XVI. p. 316, 317. † 1 Cor. XV.

all, was there meant not the Father, but the intire Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Ghost: Than which, things more absurd, or more remote from common Sense, or ancient Christianity, could hardly be said by any. But all these Evasions being devised many Years after the Council of Nice, and not the least Footsteps of them appearing so soon, they do not deserve our farther Consideration in this Place.

Primitive Faith, Article XIX.

The Holy Spirit of God is a Divine Person, made, under the supreme God, by our Saviour; or, in a due Sense, proceeding from the Father and the Son; of different Perfections and Offices from the Son of God; Superior in Nature and Attributes to all subordinate Creatures; but inferior and subordinate to the Father and the Son, in the Creation and Government of them; the Inspirer of the Prophets and Apostles; the Worker of Miracles; the Comforter of the Church; the great Author of Sanctification to all good Men; and the principal Witness to our blessed Saviour.

Athanasian Doctrine.

The Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one; the Glory equal; the Majesty Co-eternal. Such as the Father is, such is the Son, and such is the Holy Ghost.——The Holy Ghost Uncreate:——Incomprehensible:——Eternal:——Almighty:——God:——Lord:——The Holy Ghost is neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding:——None is greater or less than another:——Co-eternal and Co-equal.

The Christian Faith here set down, was so certainly owned by the whole Catholick Church before, at, and for some time after the Council of *Nice*, without the least Proof on the *Athanasian* Side, that all this their Doctrine seems on purpose levell'd against that of Christ and his Apostles; as if the Authors of it had a mind to try how far, and upon what weak Grounds they were able to abuse and oppose Christianity in this Matter. The present *Nicene* Creed, as it stands in our Liturgy, has indeed several Expressions about the Holy Spirit, looking a little toward some such Doctrines as the *Athanasians* give us. But then, as those Expressions are very far short of that Doctrine, so the Learned know very well, that none of those Expressions belong to the original *Nicene* Creed, but were all added at the Council of *Constantinople*, fifty six Years afterwards, and so no ways declare the Opinions of the Council of *Nice*. I shall alledge no Testimonies here; because there is not the least Sign of any Difference as to the Holy Spirit between the *Eusebians*, *Athanasians* and *Arians* at that time; nor any Footsteps of the modern Orthodoxy about him till many Years after; when *Athanasius* and his Followers had so long talked of the *Trinity*, as of *One Substance* and *One Divinity*; that they were forced distinctly to own much the same Things as to the Holy Spirit, which had been advanc'd concerning the Son before; tho' it was without the least direct support from the Scripture, or Antiquity, or even from the Council of *Nice* it self; and tho' it was a long time e'er many of the *Athanasians* themselves could acquiesce in and practise upon it. So that here all the ancient Creeds and Councils, those of *Nice* in particular, with all Antiquity besides, conspire with the Scripture to convict the *Athanasian* Doctrine before us of plain and gross Antichristianism and Heresy.

Primitive Faith, Article XX.

The Holy Spirit is never, either in Scripture, or the most primitive Antiquity, called directly God, or Lord; our God, or our Lord; our King, or our Judge; nor was he then properly Invoked by any Christian.

Note, The Athanasian Doctrine opposite to this Article is included under the foregoing Article.

These Christian Assertions are plain Matters of Fact; and since they are not directly denied to be true by the most Learned *Athanasians* themselves, nor any the least proper evidence produc'd of
their

their being otherwise at the Council of Nice; the Moderns are here driven into the greatest Straits possible, and are absolutely forc'd to assert the *Divinity* of, and pay *Invocation* to the *Holy Ghost*, on the foot of some poor remote humane Reasonings, without the least direct, sacred or original Authority for so doing; nay, rather, against the known Doctrine, and Language, and Practice of all Antiquity, even at, and after the Council of Nice it self.

Primitive Faith, Article XXI.

The Super-eminent Dignity of the Holy Ghost is to be own'd, and a proper degree of Worship paid him, not only by hearkening to his holy Motions, but by the Form of Baptism, by the Form of Benediction, and in Doxologies also.

Note, That this Article is agreed to by all, *Eusebians*, *Athanasians* and *Arians*; and so will not bear a Dispute here: Only the modern Forms of Doxology *with* or *and*, instead of *in* or *by*, the Holy Spirit, are to be noted as evident Corruptions, and without all just pretence of Support from the Council of Nice, or even from *Athanasius* himself, till long after that Council. For tho' the Epistle of this Council to the *Alexandrians* concludes with somewhat like a Doxology, which in * *Socrates's* Copy is *with the Holy Ghost*; yet are we assur'd by the other more authentick Copy thereof in † *Theodorit*, that it was not so in the Original, but directly *in the Holy Ghost*, according to the known *Eusebian* or Christian Form of those Days. And *Athanasius* himself hath no other than the same Form, *in the Holy Ghost*, in his own ‡ Book of the Incarnation, written before that Council: Tho' he and *Basil* ventur'd to use both promiscuously sometime afterward: while it was still own'd, that the Particle *in* alone was the certainly ancient, undoubted and unexceptionable Form of the Church till that Age. So that here we have a plain Interpolation or Corruption of the original Christian Doxology to charge upon the *Athanasians*; and that contrary to the genuine Form before, at, and for many Years after the Council of Nice also; and so without all Pretence of sufficient Authority for so doing.

* Hist. Eccl. L. I. C. 9. p. 29. † Hist. Eccl. L. I. C. 9. p. 32. ‡ S. 57.

Primitive Faith, Articles XXII, XXIII.

XXII. *God the Father, the Word, or Son of God, and the Holy Spirit, are Beings, or Persons really and numerically distinct from each other.*

XXIII. *Yet are they not intirely separate, independent Beings; but the Son and Spirit are intimately united to the supreme God the Father, by a natural Dependance, constant Consent, and subordinate Operation for the Government of the World.*

Athanasian Doctrine.

Neither confounding the Persons, nor dividing the Substance:—For there is one Person of the Father, another of the Son, and another of the Holy Ghost: But the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost is all one:—Such as the Father is, such is the Son, and such is the Holy Ghost. The Father Uncreate, the Son Uncreate, and the Holy Ghost Uncreate. The Father Incomprehensible, the Son Incomprehensible, and the Holy Ghost Incomprehensible. The Father Eternal, the Son Eternal, and the Holy Ghost Eternal. And yet they are not three Eternals; but one Eternal. As also there are not three Incomprehensibles, nor three Uncreated; but one Uncreated, and one Incomprehensible. So likewise the Father is Almighty, the Son Almighty, and the Holy Ghost Almighty; and yet they are not three Almighties, but one Almighty. So the Father is God, the Son is God, and the
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Holy Ghost is God; and yet they are not three Gods, but one God. So likewise the Father is Lord, the Son is Lord, and the Holy Ghost Lord; and yet not three Lords but one Lord.

The Christian or *Eusebian* Doctrines here set down, are so plain in the Form of Baptism used ever by the Church; in all the ancient Creeds, especially in that brought into the Council of *Nice* by *Eusebius*, and universally approv'd therein; and even in the same as it afterwards became the Creed of that Council, and for many Years afterwards; namely, that these Three are really, numerically and substantially different; but morally, and in consent and operation One; that, excepting the strange Language of that bold Heretick *Tertullian*, and his Followers on one Side; and that of the more notorious Hereticks the *Sabellians* and *Marcellians* on the other, I find no sign of the present *Athanasian* Notions till many Years after the Council of *Nice*. Nor do I take this *Athanasian* Doctrine to be other than the *Sabellian* Heresy, artfully disguis'd by *Athanasius*. All the Ancients are known to have meant the same by *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις*; I mean the real-Essence or Substance of any Thing; and they ever agreed that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit were as well three in Essence or Substance, as in *Hypostasis* or Person, i. e. numerically three Beings; and tho' a very few Philosophical Men had spoken dubiously about some more mystical * Union or Unity between them than is here owned; yet does it no way appear that they meant as the *Athanasians* do; and it plainly appears that the Church in all its ancient Creeds and Accounts of the Faith meddled not at all with such Imaginations; as not having then learned to confound the uncertain metaphysical Speculations of some Christians, with the proper Faith of the Church, or the sacred Doctrines of Christianity; as she has now done for many Ages, since the Days of *Athanasius*. For here it is, as I take it, that the proper Charge of Heresy principally lies upon *Athanasius* and his Followers, viz. that when out of Opposition to the *Arians*, they had advanced the Divinity of the Son and Spirit to a kind of Equality with the Divinity of the Father; and by Consequence made way for direct *Tritheism*, according to the most obvious Notions of Mankind; and yet durst not own a Doctrine so contrary to the intire Foundations of Christianity; They ventur'd a Step beyond the utmost Length of any former Hereticks, and were at last not afraid to say, There was one common Substance in all the three Persons. They affirm'd, that the Father was God, the Son was God, and the Holy Ghost was God, in an high and absolute Sense;

* See my fourth Vol. Art. XXII.

and yet that they were not three Gods, but one God; and so were forc'd to obscure all by a new Notion of its being a *Mystery*. This was giving us an unintelligible Doctrine of a *Trinity in Unity*, and a *Unity in Trinity* to puzzle our Understandings, instead of the ancient Christian plain Doctrines of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; of the great Creator, the merciful Redeemer, and the blessed Sanctifier of Mankind, for our distinct Worship and Obedience. Now as to any laborious Proof that this was not the Christian Doctrine before the Days, nay, the latter Days of *Athanasius*, I know not how to set about it in this Place. I might almost as well set my self to prove, that the *Cartesian* Philosophy was not believed before the Days of its celebrated Author *De Cartes*; or that the Circulation of the Blood was not generally owned before its famous Inventor *Dr. Harvey*. For I think it not much less evident that this *Athanasian* Doctrine was the Invention of *Athanasius*; and that for these five plain Reasons: First, Because all the Learned do in a manner as well know whether any Book in Divinity was earlier or later than *Athanasius* by this Doctrine, and the Terms belonging to it; as they do whether any Book in Philosophy were earlier or later than *Dr. Harvey*, on the very like Accounts. Secondly, Because at the famous Debates at and soon after the Council of *Nice* about these very Matters, there is not the least Evidence of any such Doctrines or Language then in the Church. Thirdly, Because 'tis evident from *Athanasius's* own large Treatise concerning the Incarnation just before, that himself had then no such Doctrines, nor Language; but that he himself held those original Christian Notions which are here called *Eusebianism*. Fourthly, Because those several Steps and Arts may still be in good part traced, which brought in these Doctrines; and we may observe what mighty Opposition they met with upon every such Step of their Introduction. And lastly, Because those very Men and Parties which at first joined together against the gross *Arians* at the Council of *Nice*, did yet desert and condemn the *Athanasians*, all the way they went on to introduce this Heresy of theirs. So that I cannot but wonder the Learned are not able to see that the primitive Church, till many Years after the Council of *Nice*, even while they were utter Enemies to the *Arian*, were also as utter Strangers or Enemies to the *Athanasian* Doctrines; All which Assertions are fully proved by all the authentick Records of the same Council, most of which I have published in the ensuing Treatise.

Collaries from the whole.

(1.) Hence we learn what Opposition, and Party, and Faction can make Men do: While we see the most gross and palpable Heresy introduced under the Notion of opposing another that was contrary thereto. It appearing indeed morally impossible that the Church should so soon have gone into the *Athanasian*, had it not been out of Hatred and Detestation to the *Arian* Heresy.

(2.) Hence we learn how unjustly the Eastern Body of the Church which opposed the *Athanasians*, have been called *Arians*, in all these
later

later Ages; I mean merely because they would not run into the opposite Extream; but would adhere strictly to the most primitive Doctrines and Language in these Matters.

(3.) Hence we may learn in what sense those great Men *Origen* and *Eusebius* were *Arians*, viz. that they were unquestionably against the *Athanasians*, and for the *Eusebians*; but that they never gave occasion to be supposed favourers of *Arianism*, properly so called; but the contrary.

(4.) Hence we may learn what Necessity and Advantage there is of a sacred Rule of Faith and Practice among Christians; and how much it concerns them all to keep close to it; without human Hypotheses and Additions; and into what Confusions the Church immediately falls when it pretends to go into Philosophy and humane Reasoning in sacred Matters.

(5.) Hence we learn how easie 'tis for a prevailing Party to impose upon Men in Matters of Religion; and to put what Colours they please upon the honest, but injudicious part of Mankind. It having been almost all along believ'd by the Church of late; that the Council of *Nice* were on the *Athanasian* Side, whereas it was plainly on the *Eusebian*.

(6.) Hence we learn, that both such an Equality and Co-eternity of the Divine Persons, as implies *Tritheism*, or any thing like it; and such a small difference between the same Divine Persons, as makes them but Modes of Substance, or any thing like it, are intirely Unchristian and Heretical, even by the known Opinions of the Council of *Nice*. Nor is there the least room to doubt, from all the original Remains of that Council, but both those Opinions would, upon occasion, have been therein universally condemn'd and anathematiz'd.

(7.) Hence we learn how great an Impiety it is to profess solemnly in the Church, as the *Athanasian* Creed directs, That, *Whosoever will be saved it is necessary before all Things, that he hold the Catholick Faith*; (meaning this *Athanasian* Faith before us;) that, *Except every one does keep it whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly*: That, *He that will be saved must thus think of the Trinity*: That, *'Tis furthermore necessary to everlasting Salvation, that he also believe rightly the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ*; (meaning the *Athanasian* Faith about the Incarnation:) And that after all, *This is the Catholick Faith, which except a Man believe faithfully he cannot be saved*: Since it is in effect professing solemnly, that, *Except a Man will forsake the old Christian Doctrines, even those of the Council of Nice it self, concerning these most sacred Matters, and will become an Athanasian, he cannot be saved*. Which prodigious Rashness and Uncharitableness together, I think, are hardly to be paralleled in all the Histories of the old Hereticks, or in any Body of Men that ever pretended to Christianity. As to which I dare make no Reprisals, but can only pray, *Forgive them, O God, for they know not what they do*.

6 AP 58

May 31, 1713.

WILL. WHISTON

A P P E N D I X.

SINCE it has pleased the most sagacious and successful Enquirer into the Works of God in the World that ever was; [and when I have said that, every body knows I must mean Sir Isaac Newton] in the new and most accurate Edition of his *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy*, just published, to give the World his most serious and inmost Thoughts, or, the result of all his wonderful Researches into Nature, as to the great Author of all Nature, God himself, and his Unity, Supremacy, Dominion, and other Attributes; nay, to state the proper Scripture Acceptation of the Word *God*, when apply'd to any other than the Supreme Being himself; the Mistake about which has long been of the most fatal Importance; I think it not at all disagreeable to my present Design, to conclude this Essay with the noble Passage entire in *English*, for the use of all, especially of all my truly Christian Readers. It is in these Words:

This most excellently contrived System of the Sun, and Planets, and Comets, could not have its Origin from any other than from the wise Conduct and Dominion of an intelligent and powerful Being. And in case the Fixed Stars be the Centers of the like Systems, they that are framed by the like wise Conduct, must all be subject to the Dominion of *One Being*; especially while it appears that the Light of the Fixed Stars is of the same Nature with the Light of the Sun; and that all these Systems do mutually impart their Light to one another.

This Being governs all things; not as a Mundane Soul, but as the Lord of all Creatures; who on account of his Dominion over them, is usually stiled the *Lord God*, *καὶ ὁ ἀρχὴν*, or *Supreme Governour of the Universe*. For the Word *God* is relative, and has relation to subordinate Beings: And the Word *Deity* imports the Exercise of that Dominion, not over himself, but over those subordinate Beings. The *Supreme God* is an Eternal, Infinite, and Absolutely Perfect Being: But a Being that is never so Perfect, is not a *Lord God* without Dominion. For we say, *My God*, *Your God*, *The God of Israel*: But we don't say, *My Eternal*, *Your Eternal*, *The Eternal of Israel*; We don't say, *My Infinite*, *Your Infinite*, *The Infinite of Israel*; We don't say, *My Perfect*, *Your Perfect*, *The Perfect of Israel*: These Denominations of him having no relation to subordinate Beings. The Word *God* most frequently signifies *Lord*; but so that every Lord is not a God. The Exercise of Dominion in a Spiritual Being constitutes a God: If that Dominion be real, that Being is a real God; if it be Supreme, the Supreme God; if it be fictitious, a false God. And the Consequence of the

the Exercise of real Dominion, by the true God, is this, That He is a Living, Intelligent, and Powerful Being; as it is the Consequence of the rest of his Perfections, that he is the highest or most perfect Being. He is *Eternal*, and *Infinite*, and *Omnipotent*, and *Omniscient*: that is, he endures from Everlasting to Everlasting, and is present from Infinity to Infinity; He governs all Things, and knows all Things that are done, or can be known. He is not Eternity, or Infinity, but an *Eternal*, and an *Infinite* Being. He is not Duration, or Space, but he is a Being that endures, and is present: He endures always, and is present every where; and by existing always and every where, he constitutes Duration and Space, Eternity and Infinity. Since every Particle of Space exists *always*, and every indivisible Moment of Duration exists *every where*, 'tis evident the Framer and Lord of all Things cannot exist *never* or *nowhere*. He is Omnipresent, not only by his *Power*, but also by his *Substance*: For Power cannot subsist without Substance. All Things are † contained and move in him, but without his suffering thereby. God suffers nothing by the Motions of Bodies, nor do they feel any resistance by the Omnipresence of God. 'Tis well known, That the Supreme God exists of Necessity; and by the same Necessity does he exist *always* and *every where*. Whence it is that he is entirely like himself, all Eye, all Ear, all Brain, all Arm, all Sensation, all Intelligence, all Action; but this in a way not at all like Men, in a way not at all like Bodies, in a way utterly unknown to us. As a blind Man has no Idea of Colours, so have not we any Idea of the *Modus*, whereby God most wise perceives and understands all Things. He is entirely void of all Body and bodily Figure; and therefore cannot be either seen, or heard, or felt; nor ought he to be worshipp'd under any bodily Shape. We have the Ideas of his Attributes, but do not at all know what the Substance of any Thing is. We see only the Figures and Colours of Bodies, we hear only their Sounds, we feel only their outward Surfaces, we smell only their Scents, and we tast only their Savours; but we don't know their inmost Substances by any Sensation, or internal Reflection; and much less have we any Idea of the Substance of God. We know him only by his Properties, and Attributes, and the most wise and excellent Structures of his Creatures, and by final Causes; while we adore and worship him on Account of his Dominion. For a God, without Dominion, Providence, and Final Causes, is nothing else but Fate and Nature. And thus much concerning God; To discourse of whom, from the Appearances of Nature, does certainly belong to *Experimental Philosophy*.

† This was the Opinion of the Ancients: Aratus] *Let us begin with Jupiter: Let us Men never leave off discoursing of him: For every Concourse of People, every Assembly of Mankind, the Seas also, and the Havens are all full of Jupiter. We all enjoy the Blessings of Jupiter: For we are also his Off-spring.* Phænom. at the beginning:

ning : Paul] *That they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him ; though he be not far from every one of us. For in him we live, and move, and have our Being ; as certain also of your own Poets have said ; For we are also his Off spring, A&C. xvi. 27, 28.* Moses] *Know therefore this Day, and consider it in thine Heart, That the Lord he is God in Heaven above, and in the Earth beneath ; there is none else, Deut. iv. 39. Behold the Heaven, and the Heaven of Heavens is the Lords thy God ; the Earth also, with all that therein is, x. 14.* David] *Whither shall I go from thy Spirit ? Or whither shall I flee from thy Presence ? If I ascend up into Heaven, thou art there. If I make my Bed in Hell, behold thou art there. Psal. cxxxix. 7, 8.* Solomon] *Will God indeed dwell on the Earth ? Behold the Heaven, and Heaven of Heavens cannot contain thee ; how much less this House that I have builded ? 1 King. viii. 27.* Job] *Is not God in the height of Heaven ? And behold the height of the Stars how high they are ! xxii. 12.* Jeremiah the Prophet] *Am I a God at hand, saith the Lord, and not a God afar off ? Can any hide himself in secret Places, that I shall not see him, saith the Lord ? Do not I fill Heaven and Earth, saith the Lord ? xxiii. 23, 24.*

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Will. Whiston.

6 AP 58

